COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO
THE CHINESE EXPANSIONISTS' AND HEGEMONISTS'
CRIME OF WAR OF AGGRESSION

WAR CRIMES

OF THE POL POT AND CHINESE TROOPS IN VIETNAM

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FOREWORD

On 31 December 1977, the sadly-remembered Democratic Kampuchea, through its ambassador in Beijing, published a communiqué bringing its border war against Vietnam into the open.

People all over the world were informed about this war by proxy, conducted by Beijing against neighbouring Vietnam. A war at the expense of the Kampuchean people. Hardly had Pol Pot's aggression ended, with the defeat of his forces on the Vietnam–Kampuchea border and the entry into Phnom Penh of the revolutionary forces of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, when Beijing threw off its mask to launch its own war of aggression against Vietnam on 17 February 1979. The war lasted for over a month and ended in complete defeat for the aggressors. Fortunately, Vietnam was not caught between the jaws of the great vice, but managed to break one jaw after the other.

Although the Pol Pot and Chinese aggressions were soundly beaten, they caused huge destruction to Vietnam, which had just emerged from two exhausting resistance wars against the French colonialists and the American imperialists.

In this booklet, we wish to give a brief account of the war crimes committed by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique and that of Deng Xiaoping against the Vietnamese people.

Hanoi, September 1979

Commission of Inquiry into the Chinese Expansionists' and Hegemonists' Crime of War of Aggression.

COMMUNIQUÉ

On the Crime of war of Aggression of the Pol Pot— Ieng Sary clique, Henchmen of the Chinese Expansionists and Hegemonists in the Eight Southwestern Border Provinces of Vietnam

As a consequence of objective realities and in the interest of each respective country, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have been for decades closely united to fight their common enemies—first the French colonialists, then the American imperialists. This blood-sealed militant solidarity and friendship has bound the three Indochinese peoples together and constituted an important factor to bring the national liberation revolution of each respective country to complete victory.

The great victory of Spring 1975 would have notably favoured the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples in the completion of their legitimate desires: rapidly overcome the aftermath of war, improve the people's living conditions, further tighten the existing militant solidarity between Vietnam and Kampuchea, defend national independence and successfully bring the revolutionary cause of each

respective country to fruition, thus positively contributing to safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and in the world. However, with their reactionary political line and territorial expansionist ambitions, the Beijing-masterminded Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique, betrayed the interests of both peoples, waged a war of aggression against Vietnam and perpetrated countless crimes against the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples.

I

After taking power, the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique of pseudo-revolutionaries and sham communists set up an extremely cruel militarist and fascist despotic rule governing with absolute authority. Relying entirely on the international reactionary circles, they soon became the shock-force of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in Southeast Asia, following a hostile policy against Vietnam which they regarded as their "traditional enemy", their "enemy No. 1", etc. In pursuit of their territorial expansionist scheme, they took steps to invade Vietnam. As a curtain-raiser to their hostility, they brazenly scrapped the agreement of principle between the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation and the former Kampuchean administration to take the borderline as drawn in the map published by the French before 1954 (with a 1/100,000 scale) as the existing frontier between the two countries. They unilaterally put forward a map of Kampuchea with its borderline overstepping deeply into Vietnamese

territory in many places (published in the French-language magazine "Le Kampuchea Démocratique en marche", August 1977). At the same time, they conducted armed provocations and landgrabbing operations, feverishly prepared for a large-scale war, unceasingly launched propaganda campaigns to sow dissension and national feud, secretly assassinated thousands of Vietnamese residents having good relations with the Khmer population and expelled all those Vietnamese who had lived for a long time in Kampuchea, etc. While continually violating Vietnam's sovereignty and territorial integrity, they tried to mislead public opinion at home and abroad by slanderously claiming that "Vietnam was aggressing Kampuchea" in a bid to conceal their true colours as aggressors and their criminal acts. They repeatedly made such perfidious allegations as: "Kampuchea has no intention to invade any country for expansionist purposes", "a smaller and weaker country cannot swallow up a greater one", etc. However, the following solid evidence will expose the scheme of the invaders against Vietnam. This scheme was laid down in the top secret resolution of a meeting held on 17 July 1977 by the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique in the Eastern Military Zone of Kampuchea: "We must attack not one, but many places and grab land at the same time..." Below are some confessions by Kampuchean POW's:

– Sin Sara, intelligence agent, born in 1950, native of Svay Rieng, captured on 4 August 1976, said that his superiors before smuggling him into Vietnam had told him that "Kampuchean territory stretches as far as Saigon which, sooner or later, Kampuchea will recover".

— Nghet Cam San, spy, born in 1946, native of Kandal, arrested in Ho Chi Minh City on 7 August 1977, confessed that before his mission to Vietnam, he had been taught that "in the time of Angkor Vat, Kampuchea was a power with an immense territory, having invaded the neighbour countries to enslave them... Today, in order to become a great power, Kampuchea must learn from the experience of the Angkor Vat times..."

They also nurtured the psychology of national feud among the different strata of the Khmer population and sowed dissent and panic among the Vietnamese people along the border. At the Vinh Te canal in An Giang province, cut by the Vietnamese people late in the 19th century, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique distributed leaflets saying that "the canal is the frontier and belongs to Kampuchea", and "the Khmer land is not confined to that canal, but stretches as far as Saigon".

Paving the way for their aggression against Vietnam, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique stepped up extremely barbarous terror campaigns, thoroughly liquidating genuine forces opposing their policy of genocide against the Kampuchean people and of submission to the Beijing reactionary ruling circles, defaming them as pro-Vietnam, etc.

It is clear that the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique carried out their wild ambitions according to a well-prepared and premeditated plan covering all fields: political, military, economic, cultural and social, and under the direction of the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists, who also supplied them with arms and material to wage their war of aggression against Vietnam,

destroying the time-honored friendship between the two closely associated peoples and jeopardizing peace in Southeast Asia. The war kindled by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary against Vietnam had a clear-cut objective suited the counter-revolutionary strategy of the Beijing reactionary rulers who therefore fully approved and supported them. Therefore, the very process of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique's aggression against Vietnam revealed their own extremely warlike, obdurate, reactionary and fascist nature on the one hand, and the ignominious, base, abject role of the Beijing hidden wirepullers who used Kampuchean blood to accomplish their intentions, on the other. The two cliques profited from each other and relied on each other to oppose Vietnam and attain their own goals and interests.

The Beijing reactionary ruling circles' schemes were much more cunning and devilish. After the US imperialists were compelled by their shameful defeat to withdraw from Indochina, Beijing immediately replaced them to control Kampuchea, use it as a testing ground for the materialization of "Maoism" in Southeast Asia, carry out their policy of assimilation of the Kampuchean people and turn this country into a Chinese province, a huge military base and an effective springboard first to weaken and then to annex Vietnam, then gradually to control and occupy the whole Southeast Asian region.

Therefore, it is safe to say that this was not merely a border conflict, but a Chinese-inspired overall aggressive war fought by proxy by their henchmen Pol Pot and Ieng Sary against Vietnam because Vietnam had been the greatest obstacle to Chinese

expansionism and hegemonism in Southeast Asia. Beijing's dark intention consisted in fighting Vietnam to the last Kampuchean, just as it had decided to "fight the US to the last Vietnamese" in the past. So, on order from their Beijing masters, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique repeatedly rejected all the fair and reasonable offers of negotiation advanced by the Vietnamese side to settle peacefully the frontier issue between the two countries.

The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique relied on their masters in Beijing to carry out their designs. The Beijing reactionary rulers poured copious arms and war material into Kampuchea for a protracted war. They helped train the client army, introduced tens of thousands of advisers and sent many groups of high-ranking officials there from late 1975 to late 1978 to supervise directly the implementation of their reactionary line, first and foremost the hostile policy against Vietnam. They increased aid in all fields, especially military and technical aid. Overtly serving as Beijing's task force, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique even drafted children of 13 or 14 years of age, feverishly stepping their military build-up to fight Vietnam for China.

II

As everybody knows, in mid-1975, as newly liberated southern Vietnam began to clear away the aftermath of war and rebuild the country, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique speeded up their military build-up, and drove hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean

civilians living near the Kampuchea—Vietnam frontier back into the hinterland to create a no-man's land, smuggled scouts and spies into Vietnamese territory to conduct armed intrusions in different regions in preparation for subsequent large-scale encroachments.

The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique's military activities in those four years constituted a process of escalation in scale and intensity. Only three days after complete victory was achieved in southern Vietnam, Kampuchean troops landed on Vietnam's Phu Quoc island in an attempt to occupy it. On 8 May 1975, armed incursions were launched against localities along the border from Ha Tien provincial capital to Tay Ninh province. On 10 May 1975, they brazenly attacked Tho Chu island and abducted 517 civilians whose fate remains unknown to this day. In late December 1975 and early 1976, land-grabbing operations were mounted on areas in Dac Lac and Gia Lai—Kontum provinces.

Facing this, with her unswerving goodwill of peace and her attachment to the relations of friendly neighbourhood, in mid-May 1976, Vietnam sent a negotiating delegation to Phnom Penh to open the way for a thorough settlement of the border conflict initiated by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique. The talks came to nothing as the latter unilaterally broke off the negotiations, obstinately rejected all proposals made by the Vietnamese side to resume them, went on calling for war against Vietnam and relentlessly eliminated those forces which did not follow them. In March 1977, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary armed forces renewed their onslaughts, intruding into Vietnamese

territory along a length of nearly 100 km from Ha Tien (Kien Giang province) to Tinh Bien (An Giang province). On 30 April 1977, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary hurled two infantry brigades and two independent battalions plus artillery units into a massive offensive against 13 border communes in An Giang province. From then on, they never ceased expanding the conflict to a large-scale, all-sided, continuous and systematic war of aggression along the whole Vietnam—Kampuchea frontier.

By 1978, though their aggressive war came under condemnation by world public opinion, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique, in utter contempt of human ethics and conscience and international law, kept on attacking population centres deep inside Vietnamese territory with even greater fierceness. With a view to achieving their criminal aggressive designs at any cost, they relied on Chinese weapons and equipment to develop their armed forces to the maximum, from 7 infantry divisions in mid-1975 up to 23 in late 1978, of which 19 were massed close to Vietnam together with many artillery and tank units.

Particularly, on 22 December 1978, a big-scale offensive involving several divisions was mounted on Ben Soi area, Tay Ninh province, in an attempt to capture Tay Ninh provincial capital and use it as a springboard to launch other adventurous attacks.

Faced with this highly critical situation, the Vietnamese army and people in the border areas, once again were obliged to use their legitimate right of self-defence, fought back resolutely and smashed this armed aggression by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

Shortly after this ignominious defeat, the genuine patriotic forces in Kampuchea, under the leadership of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea rose up to overthrow the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary traitorous regime from central to grassroots levels in early January 1979 and founded the people's revolutionary power headed by President Heng Samrin.

III

In waging their war of aggression against Vietnam under the orders of the Beijing reactionary ruling circles and in line with their own barbarous dark schemes, the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique committed untold crimes against the Vietnamese people. Their troops slaughtered thousands of civilians merely because they were Vietnamese. They were like wild beasts, sparing nobody, even old people, women and children, in their lust for killing. They used the most sadistic methods familiar to mediaeval tyrants: beheading, cutting throats, disembowelling, quartering, burying alive, mincing corpses, crushing skulls, penetrating anuses with sticks, burning alive, drenching with boiled water, raping women then cutting their breasts off and thrusting weapons or sticks into their genitals, etc. In Dong Thap province, after killing people, they stripped them naked and fastened the bodies onto rafts to be pushed out onto the river. Blood-curdling massacres were perpetrated, such as the killing of 500 people in Tan Lap (Tay Ninh) in 1977 and of 2,022 others in Ba Chuc (An Giang) in 1978, to cite only a few typical cases.

1. *The Tan Lap massacre:* At 1 a.m. on 25 September 1977, many regiments of the Pol Pot – Ieng

Sary army thrust into Tan Lap commune, Tan Bien district, Tay Ninh province, 7 km from the Vietnam—Kampuchea frontier. The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary thugs made a house-to-house search and killed hosts of civilians taking refuge in underground shelters and burnt down nearly 500 dwellings including those with people still trapped inside. They killed anybody they came across. Ten-year-old Ngoc Anh, hidden in a corner of a garden, was stabbed dead with a bayonet. Mrs Nguyen Thi Dong, 5 months pregnant, had her belly slashed open and the foetus torn out. A 2-year-old child of Mrs Tran Thi Tuyet was snatched by a Kampuchean assassin who tore it into two. According to investigations, 5 hamlets of the commune were razed to the ground, 500 people out of the commune population of 2,067 were massacred. Twenty-eight families were killed to a person such as those of Mr. Nguyen Van Sanh (5 members), of Mr. Vu Dinh Thai (7 members), etc. Out of the 13 teachers of the commune, 11 were slaughtered.

2. *The Ba Chuc massacre:* On 22 April 1978, a sizeable force of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary army, following fierce assaults, captured Ba Chuc and other communes in Bay Nui district, An Giang province. Ba Chuc was inhabited by many Vietnamese of Khmer stock. The raiders searched every corner to kill people taking refuge in shelters. They herded the victims up and shot them by groups of 30—40. The remaining ones were ordered to carry ammunition and the raiders' spoils to the Vinh Te canal where they were finished off. A number of villagers sought refuge in pagodas, thinking they would be safe under the auspices of religion, but the two pagodas

of Phi Lai and Tam Buu were destroyed, and all Buddha statues were shattered. Heaps of corpses were found there. According to inquiries, 2,022 people were butchered during the attack on this commune. This is a figure of civilians massacred during an attack on a commune unprecedented in the history of war, and nowhere else have such savage killing methods been witnessed.

Those monstrous atrocities sowed endless sorrow and mournings among countless families, utterly upsetting the normal life and social order in all those border areas.

Those are but two typical cases among the thousands of horrible crimes they committed against the Vietnamese people. On directives from Beijing, the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique nurtured among their army a frenzy of murder, turning their troops into a horde of utterly dehumanized liver-eating assassins. According to P.O.W.'s confessions, each Kampuchean soldier having killed 10 Vietnamese received an additional food ration as a reward to encourage them to implement the watchword "One Against Thirty" i.e. each of them was supposed to kill 30 or, if possible, 40 – 50 Vietnamese.

Starting from their aggressive and exterminatory goal, wherever they went, Pol Pot troops thoroughly carried out the "kill all, burn all, destroy all" policy to terrorize and subdue the Vietnamese people. Their targets were heavily populated areas, towns and urban centres near the frontier such as Ha Tien, Tinh Bien, Chau Doc, Tay Ninh, etc.

Tinh Bien township and 22 communes (out of the 34 embattled ones) in An Giang province were

completely levelled. The population were deprived of all dwellings and reduced to live in the open.

Tay Ninh provincial capital and 7 out of the 8 districts of the province were subject to daily artillery bombardments. Out of the 46 embattled communes in Tay Ninh, 18 were completely destroyed.

Ha-Tien provincial capital and almost all the communes along the border of Kien Giang province were laid waste. During the hostilities, Pol Pot troops made over 700 shellings on Kien Giang province, causing great losses in lives and property to the population.

Almost all border communes of Hong Ngu district, Dong Thap province, came under attack. From August 1977 to the end of 1978 alone, alongside incessant shellings, they conducted 384 infantry onslaughts and 62 boat attacks, destroying most of the people's fishing equipment.

In 1977-1978, Pol Pot-Ieng Sary troops mounted 1,736 attacks and surprise raids on the border areas of Long An province, causing heavy losses and sufferings to the population.

In implementation of their vicious scheme "to undermine Vietnam's economy", at every intrusion, Pol Pot troops indulged in burning houses, paddy and other property. An Giang province alone had almost 10,000 houses burnt down. In a single raid on 16 March 1976 against Thieu Hung and Hung Phuoc communes, Loc Ninh district, Song Be province, they burned down 286 civilian dwellings.

According to inquiries, they destroyed and looted tens of thousands of tons of food, killed or took away nearly 10,000 head of cattle, destroyed or took

away nearly 800 boats and outboard motorboats (most belonging to the population of Dong Thap province). Cultural, educational, health and religious establishments were also attacked: 51 churches, temples and pagodas, 129 schools, 63 health stations and hospitals were destroyed or heavily damaged.

As a result of continuous attacks on border areas, more than 400,000 Vietnamese civilians had to leave their homes. This greatly hampered production: over 100,000 hectares of arable land were left uncultivated; food production (paddy equivalent) lost because of the war was estimated at hundreds of thousands of tons. Meanwhile, some border provinces such as Tay Ninh and Long An had to receive 180,000 Kampucheans and 20,000 Chinese residents who fled from Kampuchea to seek refuge in Vietnam. The Pol Pot–Ieng Sary clique's genocidal policy and the instigation and terror spreading by the Beijing reactionary rulers were at the origin of this exodus which cost a great many lives and caused countless difficulties to Vietnam. They must bear full responsibility for those crimes and cannot shift the blame to anybody. The above monstrous crimes committed by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and their bosses – the Beijing reactionary rulers – must be exposed to world public opinion and sternly condemned.

IV

In conducting a war of aggression against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique contravened to common ethics and overtly and seriously violated international law. Under the Nuremberg International Tribunal Statutes, they are guilty of the crime of aggression, the capital international crime, for having grossly encroached

upon Vietnam's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. At the same time, they violated the U.N. Charter and many Resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly. Further more, they violated principle 7 of the Final Communiqué of the Conference of Asian-African Countries held in Bangdung in 1955 with the presence of Cambodian representatives, condemning all acts or threats of aggression and all uses of force or threats to use force in international relations.

On Vietnamese territory, in the course of their war of aggression, the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary army massacred Vietnamese civilians by the hundreds and thousands, merely because they were Vietnamese. This criminal act bears an obvious genocidal character. Thus, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary violated the 9 December 1948 U.N. Convention. Under the said Convention, those are guilty of the crime of genocide who destroy the whole or part of a national, ethnical, racial or religious group merely because it belongs to such a group. On the other hand, the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique are guilty of war crimes under the Nuremberg Statutes, for having ordered their troops to kill, persecute and maltreat the civilian population, destroy Vietnamese communes and dwellings, and plunder property.

The Chinese hegemonists and expansionists – masterminds of this war of aggression – are the co-culprits of these crimes and must be held totally responsible for their consequences on the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples.

As the greatest and most infamous criminals of our times, the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique and their masters, the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists

must be most severely condemned and judged according to justice and existing international law.

As the greatest criminals just sentenced to death by the Phnom Penh People's Revolutionary Tribunal, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary have now no capacity to represent the Kampuchean people and must not be tolerated anywhere that justice remains. Any effort whatsoever to revive the political corpse of the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique would constitute an indirect violation of international law, opposing the Vietnamese people and the forces of peace and justice, running counter to the legitimate aspirations of the Kampuchean people and progressive people in the world, and an abject and insane challenge to human conscience.

With their iron-like determination to defend their independence and sovereignty and following the tradition of militant solidarity with Kampuchea, the Vietnamese people pledge to help wholeheartedly the fraternal Kampuchean people implement the sacred appeal of the Nation United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea led by President Heng Samrin to defend the conquests of the revolution, consolidate the people's power, build a new, prosperous and happy life in the independent and peaceful Fatherland. The Vietnamese people are resolved not to pardon the crime of aggression of the Pol Pot – Ieng Sary clique and the Chinese reactionary ruling circles, and stand always ready to smash all attempts of aggression or annexation, no matter whether it takes place in the South or in the North or at any place on the Vietnamese territory.

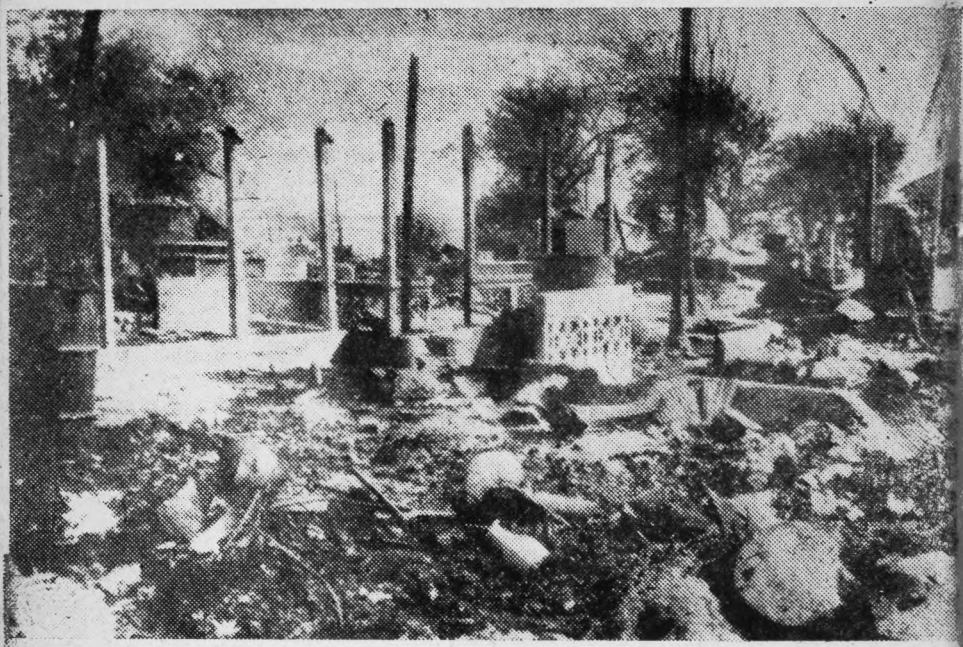
25 August 1979

Preliminary account of war losses in the southwestern border provinces of Vietnam

	Unit	TOTAL		Percentage
		In embattled areas	Destroyed by the enemy	
1	2	3	4	5
1. Districts and provincial capitals		69	25	33.3
2. Communes		111	96	86.0
3. Housing space	1,000 sq.m	1,150	1,087	94.5
4. People rendered homeless	1,000 people		257	
5. Schools		191	129	66.4
6. Pupils deprived of school			11,610	
7. Hospitals, medical stations		105	63	60
8. Churches, pagodas		70	51	71.6
9. Buffaloes and oxen killed or taken away		9,948	6,567	70
10. Pigs killed or taken away			1,705	

1	2	3	4	5
11. Land left uncultivated	ha		100,000	
12. Amount of food looted or destroyed (paddy equivalent)	ton		8,422	
13. Amount of food (paddy equivalent) lost because of war-caused non-production	ton		180,000	

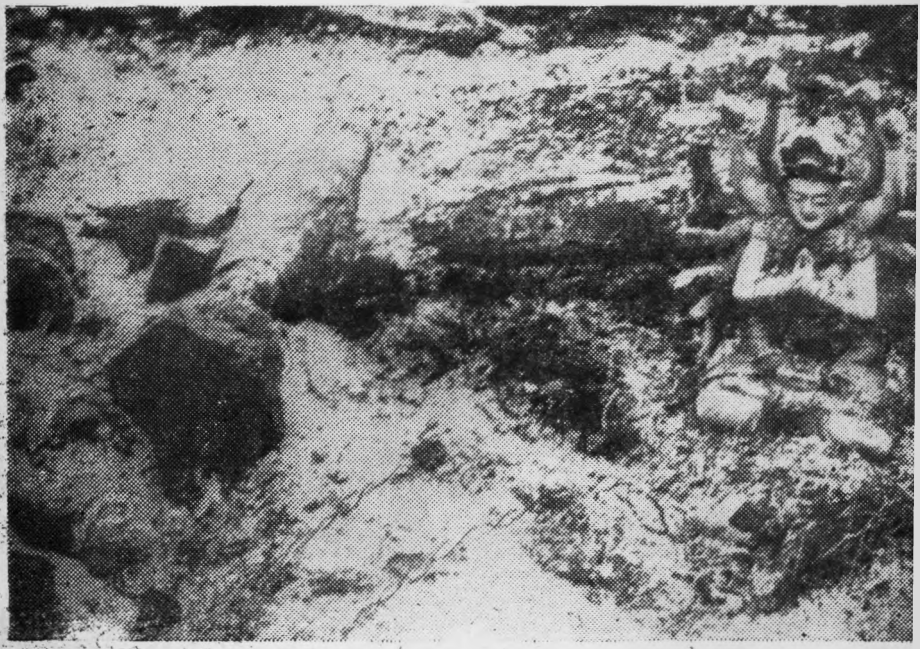
Map showing the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary armed forces' attacks on Vietnam's eight southwestern border provinces from May 1977 to December 1978.

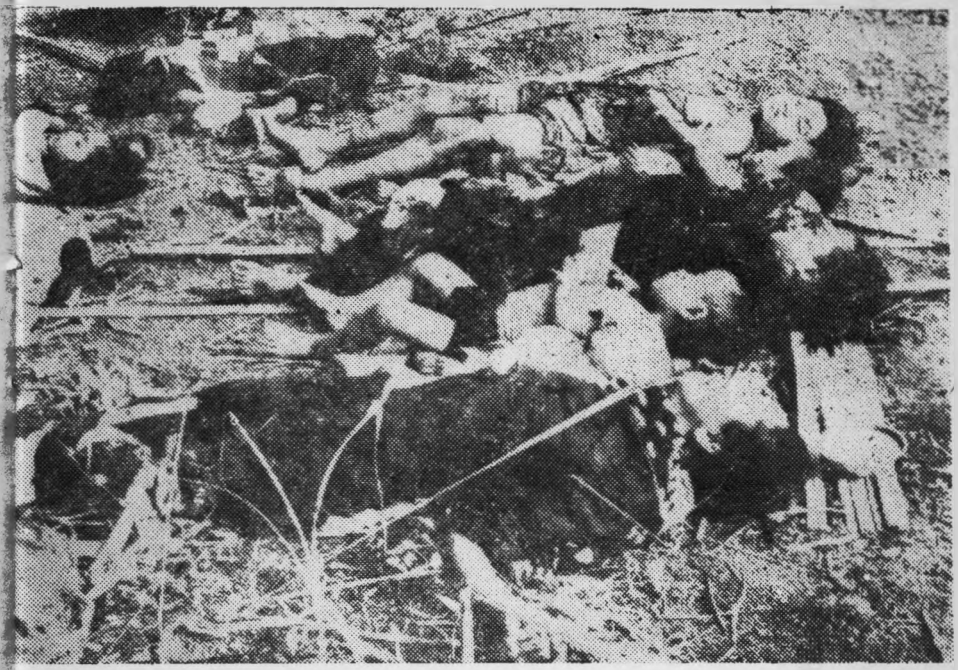


At 2 a.m. on 30 April 1977 Pol Pot troops broke into Cay Duong hamlet, Bac Giang commune, Tinh Biên township, An Giang province burning down 13 houses and killing 13 people (including three families in their entirety).

The first-level general education school of Chau Phu district, An Giang province ruined by Pol Pot troops

Many pagodas along the Vietnamese border were also damaged by Pol Pot troops.

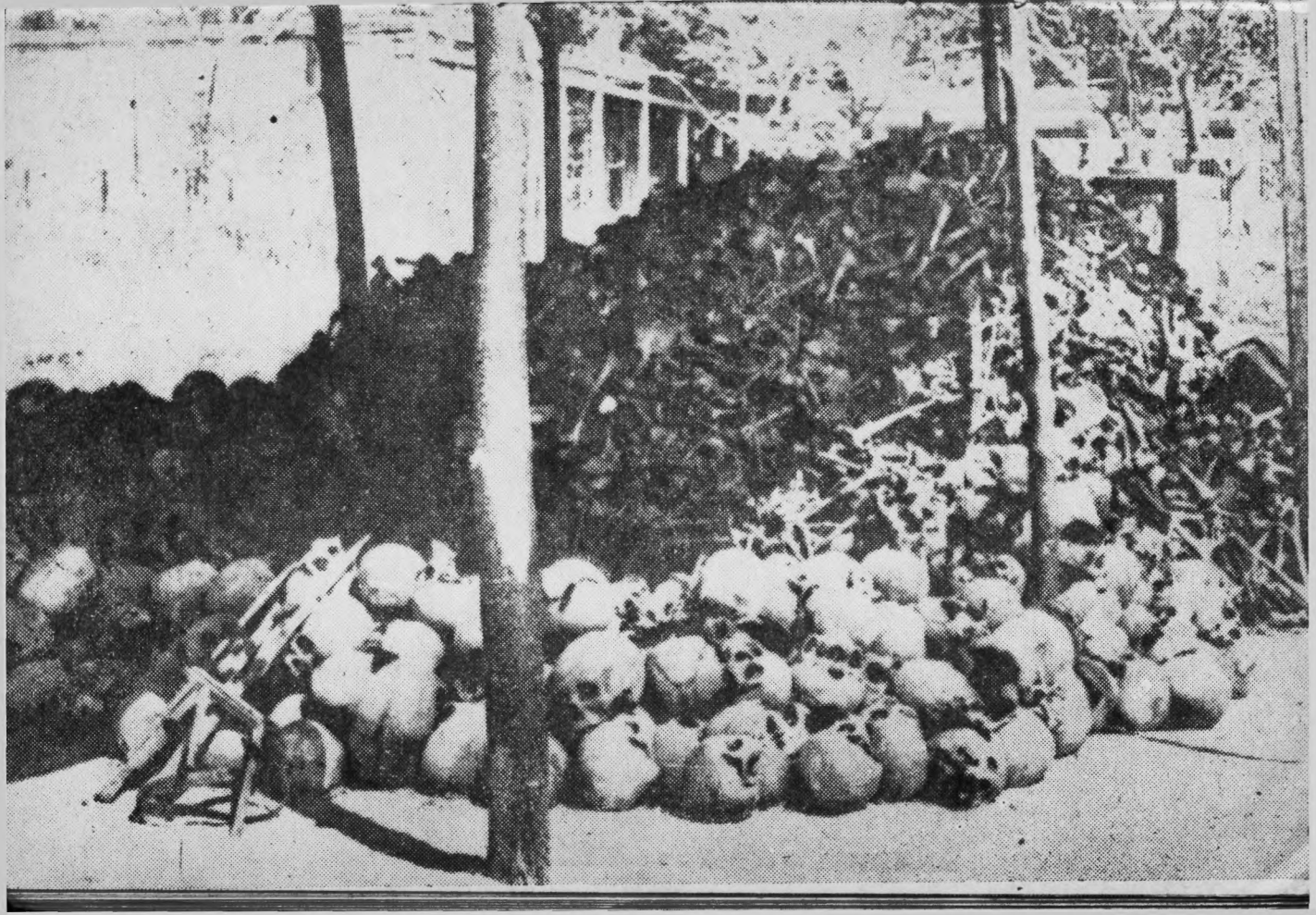




All the members of Mr Truong Son's family in Xa Trach hamlet, Song Be province were beaten to death with knives, hoes and hammers by Pol Pot troops on 16 March 1977.

Thousands of people in Ba Chuc commune, Bay Nui district, An Giang province were killed by Pol Pot troops in attacks between 22 and 30 April 1978.

2,015 skulls and other human bones unearthed after the massacre of Vietnamese civilians by Pol Pot troops at Ba Chuc commune. The skulls and bones have been piled up in front of Phi Lai pagoda, An Giang province.



Pol Pot and Chinese military advisers inspecting the battefront in preparation for a new attack on Vietnamese territory (1977).

Medical care given to Kampuchean refugees in Viet-nam.

< Chinese military advisers in Pol Pot army uniform inspecting the Vietnam – Kampuchea border battlefront to command armed operations against Vietnam.

COMMUNIQUÉ

On the crime of war of aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists

Progressive mankind has witnessed a most serious international crime.

In the small hours of Saturday, 17 February 1979, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists hurled an army of aggression, comprising over 600,000 men, over 500 tanks and armoured vehicles, over 700 aircraft of various types and thousands of artillery pieces, into a massive surprise-attack against 6 border provinces in northern Vietnam along the whole frontier of 1,400 km, from Mong Cai to Phong Tho. The Chinese aggressive troops penetrated deep into Vietnamese territory, in some places up to several dozen kilometres.

The war of aggression against Vietnam is the topmost escalation move in a whole chain of Chinese criminal acts against our people's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity with a view to annexing and subduing Vietnam, and carrying out the Chinese rulers' great-nation expansionist policy. Five years ago, as the US imperialist aggressors

were compelled by their defeat to pull out their troops from Vietnam, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists shamelessly captured Vietnam's Hoang Sa Islands (the Paracels). They urged and masterminded the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique to conduct a border war in the southwest of Vietnam. In the North, they provoked clashes and made encroachments into our border region. They incited the Hoa people to start riots, concocted the so-called "nanqiao" (victimized residents) incident. Taking advantage of the difficulties caused by natural calamities to the Vietnamese people, they cut off their economic aid, brought their experts home and tried to blockade Vietnam economically with a view to curbing and weakening her.

Repeatedly thwarted in their hostile anti-Vietnam policy, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, following in the tracks of their feudalist predecessors and the Western colonialists and imperialists, waged a direct war of aggression against the Vietnamese people.

This war of aggression is an extremely savage extermination which has shocked all mankind.

Wherever they went, the Chinese aggressive troops wantonly and massively killed Vietnamese civilians without discrimination. The bulk of the victims were women, children and old people. They unhesitatingly slaughtered hosts of women and children, even expectant mothers and tiny babies. They killed physicians and medical staff who were giving first-aid to the wounded. They massively butchered civilians wherever they came across them: at home, on

the fields, on their way to evacuation, in underground shelters. A great many families were wiped out or of them only one or two small orphans survived.

Even more ruthless than the Nazis, they vied with one another to apply the cruelest murderous methods of Chinese medieval tyrants. The horrid crimes of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique, henchmen of the Chinese reactionaries in Kampuchea, were repeated in Vietnam. The executioners used machetes to chop people's heads or mince their bodies; smashed their skulls with iron sticks, pick-axes, shovels, hammers or rifle butts; disembowelled them.

The savage massacre in Tong Chup, Hung Dao commune, Cao Bang province, on 9 March 1979, i.e. 4 days after the Chinese authorities declared the withdrawal of their troops from Vietnam, was not an isolated case. There, the Chinese aggressors simultaneously slaughtered 43 women and children. The victims included 24 women of which 7 were pregnant and 19 children of which 7 were small babies

Those women and children were slain with most savage and most inhuman methods as is shown by the following:

— Skulls smashed, eyes gouged out and the bodies thrown into wells, as happened to worker Mac Thi Tinh, 26, six months pregnant and her two children. Mong Thi Thuy, a three-year-old girl and Mong Van Toan, a two-year-old boy;

— Arms fastened behind the back with wire, heads and limbs smashed and the bodies thrown into streams;

– Heads chopped off with machetes;

– Bodies cut to pieces, limbs cut off and the parts scattered over the ground;

– Bellies slashed open, as happened to Mrs Trinh Thi Hai's four children from 2 to 10 years old. Hai herself was killed, too;

– Women raped, their breasts cut off and genitals mutilated.

The prisoner Liu, native of Hunan, on 23 February 1979 confessed that he had witnessed a mate of his, Li Chun by name, killing two children: on his commissar's order, the latter placed a little girl of some 8 years of age and her younger brother about 4 years old face to face, then thrust his bayonet through both of them.

Still more devilish, they laid mines in every place: paths, walkways in the fields, around wells, doorways, window sills, even in pigsties and rice baskets, with a view to sowing death even after their retreat.

Not content with exterminating people, the Chinese aggressors also destroyed all resources, even the environment of the population.

Everywhere, they plundered all the rice and other food. They took away or killed all buffaloes, oxen, horses and other farm animals; looted all tools such as ploughs, harrows, picks, hoes, saws, hammers, etc. They took everything: clothing, furniture and household utensils, and destroyed all that they could not, or had not enough time to carry away.

Public utility installations and civilian dwellings were blown up or burnt.

They thoroughly and systematically wrecked schools, kindergartens, nurseries and hospitals. Even churches and temples were not spared.

As regards educational, health and religious institutions, they destroyed not only all classrooms, hospital wards, pharmacies and places of worship, but also school desks and benches, and school equipment, hospital beds and medical and pharmaceutical equipment, altars and religious objects, Christian saints and Buddha statues.

Almost all the hospitals and medical establishments in the invaded region were wrecked beyond use, i.e: 428 out of the total of 430 hospitals and health stations. Schools were destroyed, too: 735 out of the total of 904 general education schools, and 691 nurseries were reduced to rubble, with nearly 200,000 children left with no place of education.

They destroyed every church and pagoda.

They burned all books, magazines, text-books and documents of schools, libraries and other cultural establishments.

They even destroyed historical monuments and vestiges. This crime is typified by the destruction of the Pac Bo grotto and the Pac Bo museum in Cao Bang province where we kept vestiges and exhibits related to the revolutionary activities of President Ho Chi Minh, who devoted all his life to the liberation of the Vietnamese and other peoples and spared no effort to cultivate the friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples.

As a result of this extermination policy, Chinese troops destroyed almost all the cities, towns and

villages during their war of aggression against our country.

All the four provincial capitals overrun by them—Cao Bang, Lang Son, Lao Cai, Cam Duong—were levelled. All the 320 communes they broke into were razed. Of the 420 houses in De Tham commune, Hoa An district, Cao Bang province, 330 were burnt down.

That was not all. They also destroyed the environment by burning large areas of forest. Thousands of hectares of natural forest in Lai Chau province were set on fire. In the Sapa holiday resort, Hoang Lien Son province, thousands of hectares of pine and "samu" forests surrounding the town, which played an important role in regulating the climate and purifying the air, were also burnt. The Chinese aggressors threw the bodies of civilians killed by them into streams and wells. Into a well in Hung Dao commune, Cao Bang province they dumped as many as 15 corpses.

On the economic plane, they thoroughly and systematically destroyed industrial, agricultural and afforestation institutions with a view to undermining socialist construction in Vietnam and weakening our country.

All the factories and mines they came across, such as an apatite mine, a power plant, a pottery and porcelain factory, a tea factory, a sugar mill, a food processing plant, etc., were systematically destroyed. They took away equipment, machinery and finished products. They flattened buildings, storehouses and basic construction works with mines and plastic charges in order to destroy them beyond repair.

The destruction of the Cam Đuong mine constitutes a typical instance. The Chinese aggressors demolished or burnt down all the workers' living quarters and public utility works such as State stores, restaurants, cinemas, libraries, meeting halls, etc. The mine's first-and second-level general education school was completely destroyed together with its laboratory. The hospital of the mine was also razed, its equipment and medicines were taken away. Nor was that all. They took away all the equipment and machines used to mine apatite ore and produce phosphate fertilizer, along with hundreds of trucks, bulldozers and thousands of tons of fertilizer. Then they used plastic charges and cannons to destroy all the works designed for ore extraction and production of phosphate fertilizer, the system of ore and fertilizer conveyor-belts, and the network of electric wire and poles. The two bridges in the mine area — Lang Chieng and Lang Giang — were wrecked to their piers and abutments.

In the State farms where they managed to get in, they looted or destroyed all tractors, bulldozers, steam-rollers, trucks, generators, transformers, depots of accessories, tractor-repair stations, tens of thousands of tons of nitrogenous and phosphate fertilizer, tens of thousands of tons of seeds of rice, subsidiary crops and vegetables. They took away or killed more than one hundred thousand buffaloes, oxen and horses and more than two hundred thousand pigs.

Nearly 100 State farms and afforestation centres were ravaged, together with machinery, equipment, technical materials, storehouses and workers' living quarters. Hundreds of thousands of workers and

State employees were rendered homeless and lost all their property.

In every area they trespassed upon, the Chinese aggressors destroyed all water conservancy works (reservoirs, pump stations, basins, irrigation and drainage sluices, etc.), all communication and transport works (roads, railway stations and bridges). To wreck bridges beyond repair, they exploded their main piers and abutments with heavy plastic charges. They removed sections of railway tracks, even took away sleepers to China and destroyed many portions of highways to impede communication.

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The war of aggression conducted by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists has caused great immediate losses to the Vietnamese people. No less serious is its aftermath which cannot yet be fully reckoned.

The table on page 43 shows the immediate losses (till late March 1979) according to preliminary statistics.

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The criminal schemes and acts of aggression of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists reveal their nature as an extremely warlike, cruel, perfidious, obstinate and arrogant group who utterly flout morality and law.

The Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, war criminals, are particularly dangerous, because:

1	Unit	Total in the invaded region	Destroyed by the enemy	Percentage
	2	3	4	5
1. Provincial capitals		4	4	100
2. Communes		320	320	100
3. Housing space in cities	10,000 sq.m.		60	
4. City-dwellers rendered homeless	10,000 people		15	
5. Houses in the countryside	10,000 houses		4.5	
6. Villagers rendered homeless	10,000 people		20	
7. General education schools (1st, 2nd and 3rd levels)		904	735	82
8. General education school pupils deprived of school	10,000 students		18	

1	2	3	4	5
9. Nurseries destroyed		691	691	100
10. Children left with no places of education	10,000 children		1.4	
11. Teachers left with no schools to teach			5,570	
12. Hospitals and health stations		430	420	99.5
Among these:				
– provincial hospitals		4	4	100
– district hospitals		25	24	92
– health stations		400	400	100
13. Afforestation centres		42	38	90
14. State farms and agricultural stations			41	
15. Buffaloes, oxen and horses killed or looted	10,000 head	26	15.7	60
16. Pigs killed or looted	10,000 head	30.5	24.4	80

1. Their great-nation expansionism and hegemonism, a persistent heritage from the ambitions of ancient emperors, is set upon restoring a Chinese empire as the centre of the world to rule over the world, in the first place, Southeast Asia.

2. The war criminals, far from renouncing their will of aggression, are still very bellicose and are overtly threatening to start again their war of aggression against Vietnam and extend it to the other Indochinese countries.

The war of aggression against Vietnam is merely an initial move in the process of implementation of their criminal scheme of expansionist and hegemonist aggression in Southeast Asia. It constitutes a very serious danger of new armed aggressions against Vietnam and other neighbouring countries, threatening the peace, stability and security of the peoples in Southeast Asia and in the whole world.

On the other hand, the Chinese war criminals use their barbarous war of aggression against Vietnam as an intimidation and deterrence measure to prevent other peoples from following Vietnam, otherwise they might be punished like Vietnam.

3. The war criminals act in collusion with US imperialism and the most reactionary forces of our times to conduct wars of aggression and carry out their great-nation expansionist policy against peace, independence and freedom of other peoples.

4. The war criminals act under the guise of revolution and socialism to sabotage the revolution, the national liberation movement, and the movement

of revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

They are the worst betrayers of the revolutionary cause of progressive mankind of our times.

5. The war criminals are most ignominious swindlers. While committing acts of war, they used a huge propaganda machine to fool Chinese and world opinion.

Their treachery consists mainly in slander and distorting the truth, making black white, confusing right and wrong, inverting justice and injustice, representing the victim of aggression as the aggressor and *vice versa*.

Playing the "thief crying stop thief" trick, while sending hundreds of thousands of troops to invade another country, they clamoured that they were using their legitimate right of self-defence against agression, shamelessly styling themselves champions of peace, independence and freedom.

They noisily condemn aggression, castigate imperialism and expansionism, voice support for the national liberation movement, while it is they who are the real expansionists allied to imperialism to conduct criminal wars of aggression and sabotage the national liberation movement everywhere.

6. The war criminals flout and trample underfoot all principles of morality and international law.

They arrogate to themselves the right to punish other peoples whenever the latter refuse allegiance to them or oppose Chinese invasion of their territories; in fact, they grant themselves the right to

commit the crime of aggression and the crime of genocide, in defiance of international law and human conscience.

7. The war criminals have poisoned their troops with warlike, murderous thoughts, frantic national feud, dehumanized them and turned them into a horde of thugs deprived of all human character.

Therefore, nowadays the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are the dangerous enemy not only of the Vietnamese people, but also of the whole socialist system, and of the movement of independence. democracy and peace in Asia and the world.

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The Nuremberg International Tribunal, trying the Nazis war criminals, concluded that the conduct of war of aggression against another country constitutes a supreme international crime because it gives rise to all other crimes. Under the Statutes of the Nuremberg International Tribunal, those who conduct a war of aggression are guilty of the crime against peace (Article 6a).

The U.N. Charter and many resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly condemn all acts of aggression, all uses of, or threats to use, force in international relations, in favour of the defence of peace and international security, of the peoples' inviolable rights to independence, freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The World Declaration of Human Rights deems that the flouting of human rights leads to savage acts

shocking human conscience and defines the principles of respect for fundamental rights and liberties, regardless of nationality.

In conducting an undeclared large-scale war of aggression against Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country which has never opposed the interests of China in any way, and which, not so long before, they still called their ally and assured that "China is Vietnam's reliable rear area", the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists have despised and trampled underfoot the peoples' fundamental rights and all basic human rights, breaking their commitment, flouting the fundamental principles of the U.N. Charter and the World Declaration of Human Rights.

The war of aggression against Vietnam—the vanguard soldier of the national liberation movement against imperialism and colonialism, for independence and freedom of the nations — constitutes an extremely grave offence to the freedom-, justice- and peace-loving peoples, an insolent challenge to human conscience.

Under international law, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are guilty of *the crime of aggression with a scheme long since premeditated in violation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam.* At the same time, they are held guilty of *the crime against peace and international security.*

They are also guilty of *war crimes,* under Article 6b of the Statutes of the Nuremberg International Tribunal. This article regards as crimes of war any violations of the laws of war such as killing, ill-treatment or deportation of civilians, plundering of public or private property, destruction of cities and villages

without military necessity. In particular, they have violated the 12 August 1949 Geneva Convention on the Protection of Civilians and War Wounded in War Time based on the principles prohibiting any attempt at their lives and property.

By systematically and massively killing civilians in a most cruel manner and destroying all their production resources, by ravaging the system of economic establishments, hospitals and schools, they are guilty of *crimes against humanity*, under Articles 6c of the Nuremberg Statutes, according to which "the massacre of civilians and other inhuman acts against them are crimes against humanity".

According to a principle of international law already applied to the German and Japanese fascists, those who wage a war of aggression *must be held totally responsible for reparations of all losses and damage caused by this war of aggression.*

***

Smartingly routed and strongly condemned by public opinion all over the world and even in China, the Chinese rulers were compelled to withdraw their army of aggression unconditionally. But their reactionary, bellicose and aggressive nature remains unchanged. They have not given up their scheme to weaken and annex Vietnam. They persist in keeping their troops at many positions on Vietnamese territory. They have been systematically carrying out war preparations and provocations along the whole of our frontier. They are still concentrating more than half a million troops in the vicinity of the

frontier, deploying a dozen divisions, thousands of artillery pieces and other armaments close by the Vietnamese border. They continue to build strategic roads and combat fortifications. They carry out artillery bombardments, incursions, espionage and sabotage against Vietnam and violate our territorial waters and airspace. And they are haughtily threatening to rekindle the war, slanderously charging Vietnam and Laos with "provocative, bellicose" and "anti-China" actions, claiming the so-called "right to riposte" with a view to preparing for new aggressive escalation moves against Vietnam and other Indochinese countries.

Facing the danger of a renewal and extension of this crime of aggression with the savage horrors of genocide which would ensue, the Vietnamese people earnestly call on the governments and peoples of all countries, the revolutionary movements and the international democratic organizations, their brothers and friends in all continents, to act more vigorously for the sake of freedom, justice and peace, actively support Vietnam. We call on all these forces to condemn energetically the Chinese reactionary aggressors; demand that they respond to the 3-point proposals tabled by the Vietnamese Government to guarantee peace and stability in the Vietnam—China frontier area—a fair and sensible solution relevant to the actual situation and responding to the aspirations of the Vietnamese and Chinese peoples and the yearnings for peace and stability of the peoples in Southeast Asia and the world.

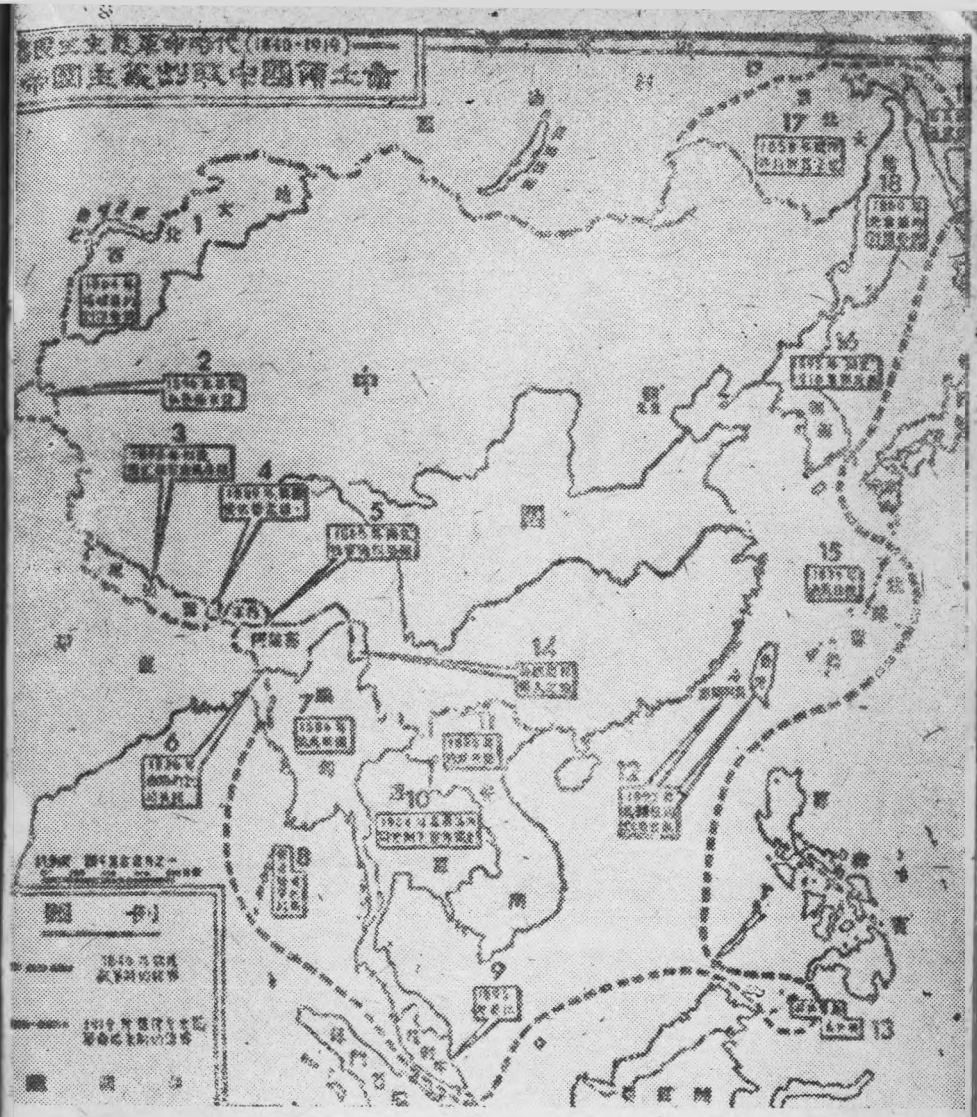
The Vietnamese people call on the genuine Chinese Communists and people to energetically oppose

and check in time the reactionary policies and unjust war conducted by the Chinese rulers.

The Vietnamese people are deeply attached to peace, do not want war and are invariably willing to maintain solidarity and friendship with the Chinese people, but are determined to defend their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

With the aggregate force of the whole nation united like a rock, with their will and traditions of indomitable struggle against foreign invasion, with the force of a broad international front which is wholeheartedly supporting and defending Vietnam and sternly condemning the Chinese reactionary aggressors, the Vietnamese people are firmly confident in the victory of their just cause for the independence and freedom of their Fatherland, for peace, justice and the dignity of all nations.

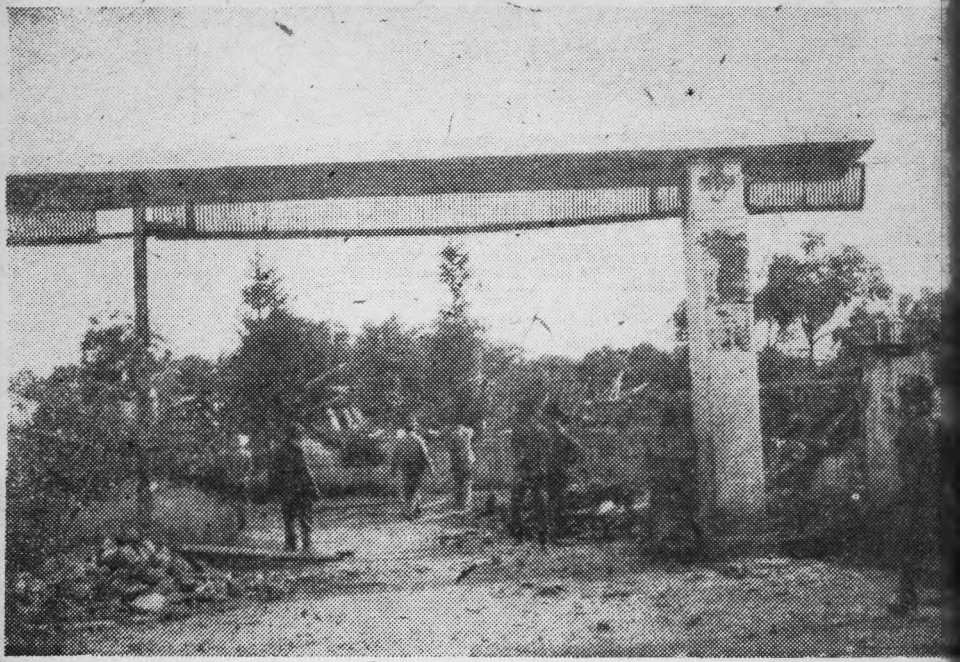
15 May 1979



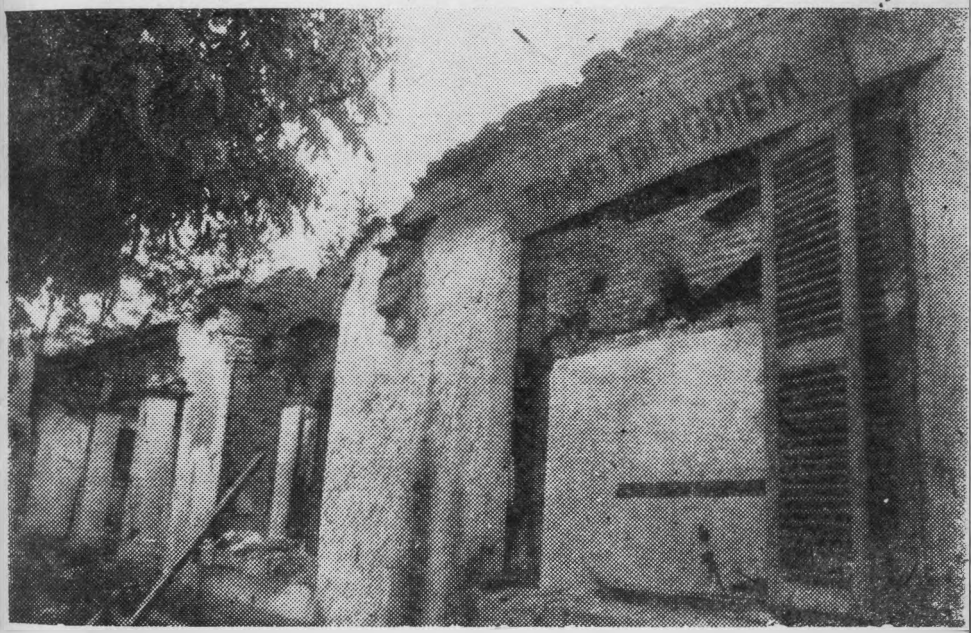
A map of China published in 1954 and printed in a text-book entitled «A Historical Sketch of Contemporary China». It includes land termed by Chinese leaders «Parts of Chinese territory appropriated by the imperialists during the period of (Chinese—*Ed.*) democratic revolution (1840-1919)»: Bhutan, Burma, Korea, Kampuchea, Laos Vietnam, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Sikkim, Thailand, the Japanese Ryukyu islands, part of India, and parts of Soviet territory in Kazakh Kirghiz and Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republics.

The phosphate fertilizer plant in the Cam Duong Apatite Mine (Hoang Lien Son province) with a capacity of 200,000 tons/year. It was destroyed by the Chinese aggressors.

An enterprise producing wheelbarrows in Cao Bang province, destroyed by the Chinese troops.



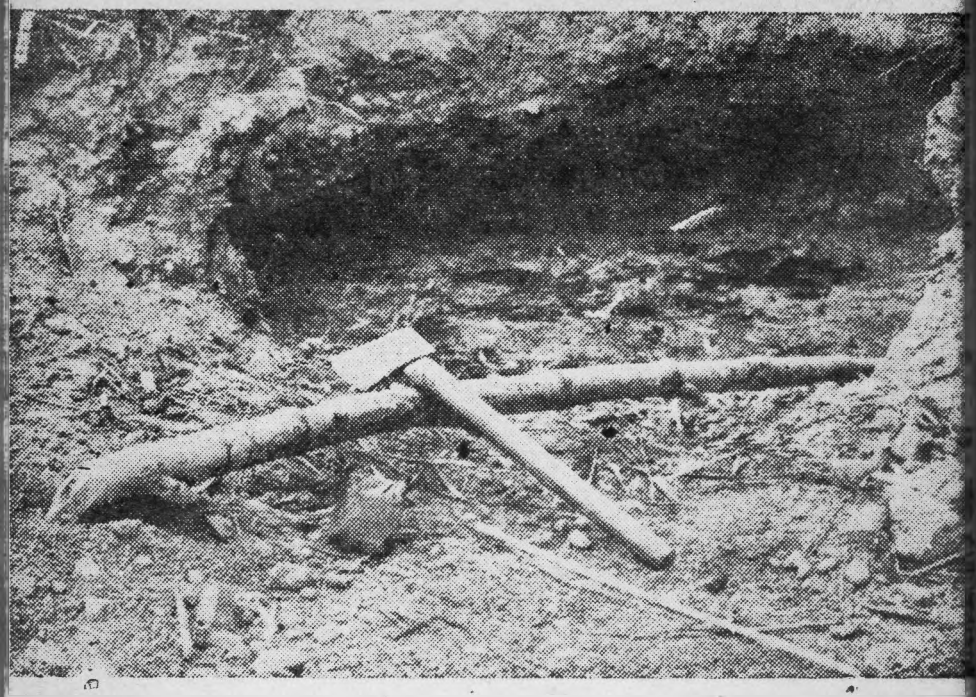
A 250-bed hospital in Lao Cai razed by the Chinese troops before their withdrawal.



A laboratory of the third-level general education school in Cao Bang destroyed by the Chinese aggressors.

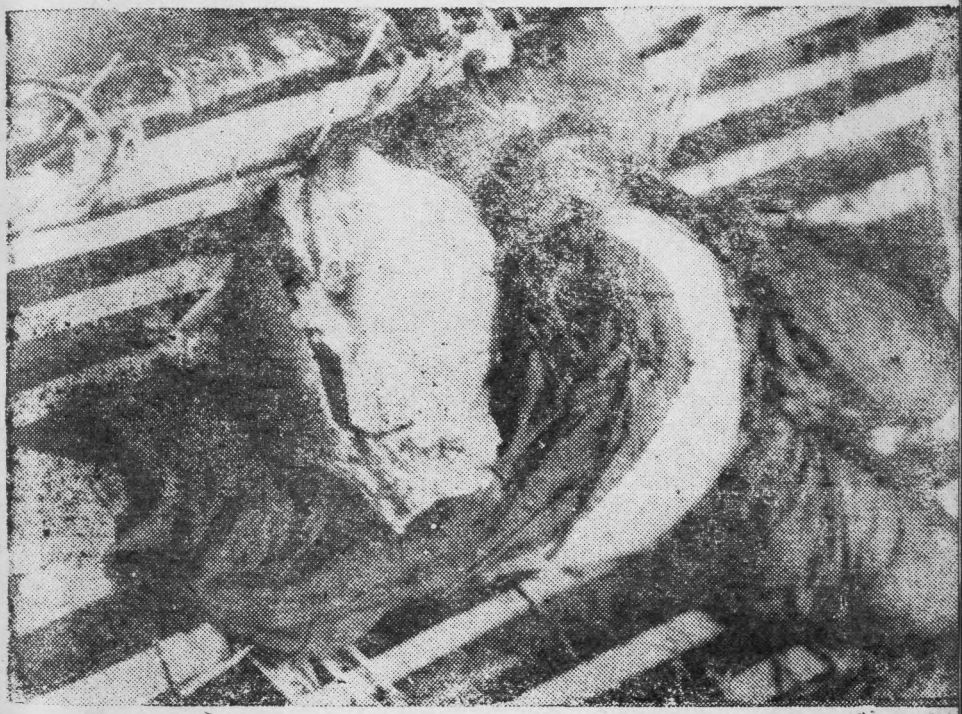
Many schools in the northern border provinces were blown up by the Chinese troops.

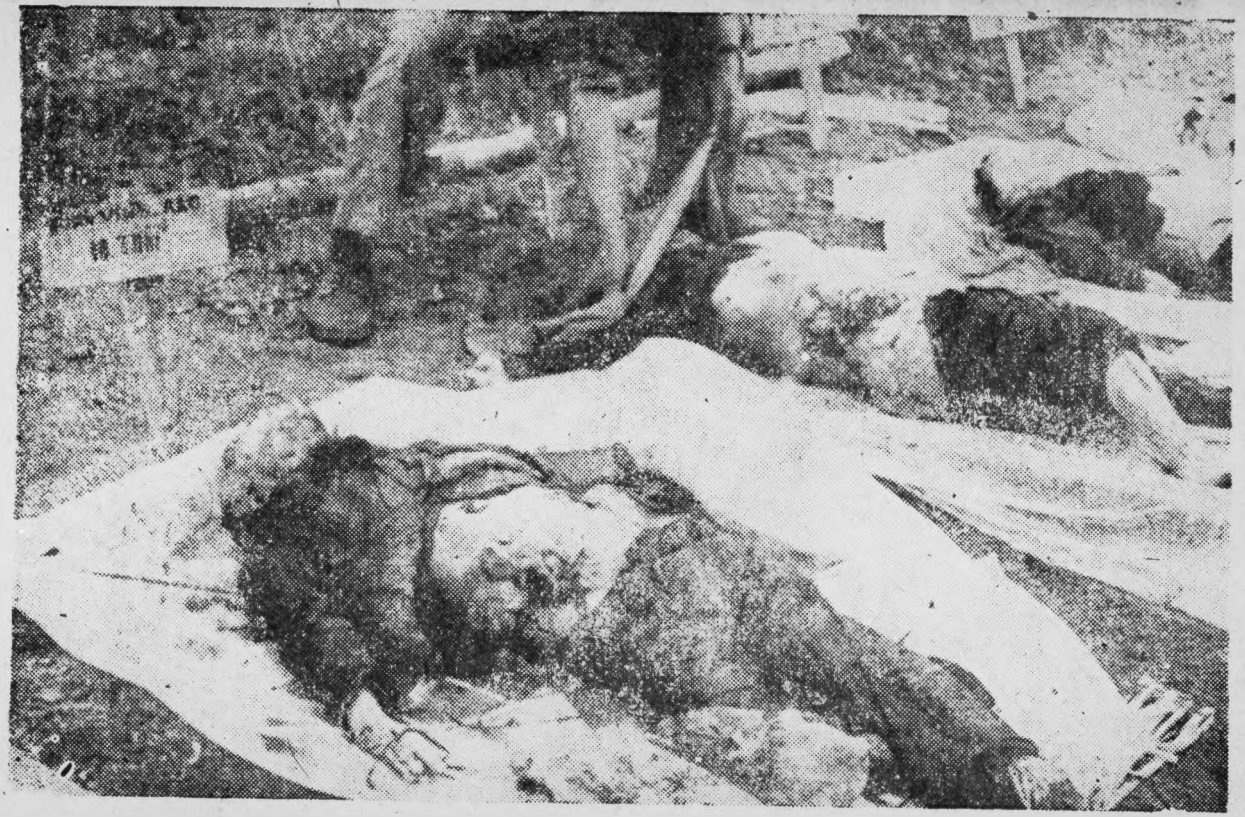
The library and cultural centre of Cao Bang province burnt down by the Chinese aggressors.



With this pickaxe and bamboo stick Chinese troops smashed the heads of 43 women and children at Tong Chup hamlet, Hung Dao commune. Hoa An district, Cao Bang province on 9 March 1979.

To Thi Uyen, aged 8, daughter of Mrs Hoang Thi Van had her head smashed by the Chinese troops at Tong Chup on 9 March 1979.

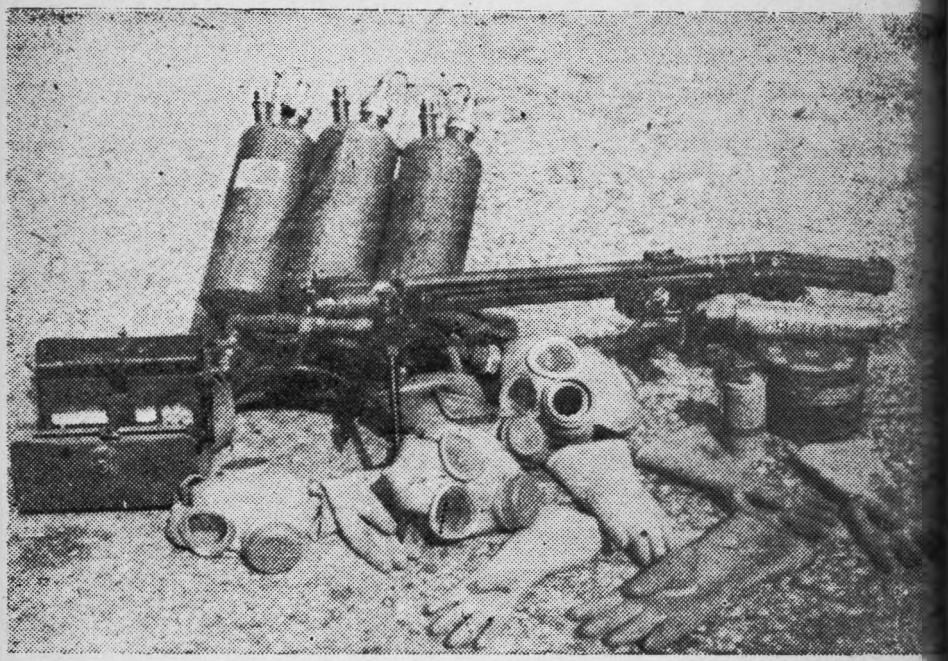




Mrs Nguyen Thi Hai and her four children : Nong Vinh Kao aged 10, Nong Vinh Kien aged 7, Nong Thi Bien aged 6, and Nong Thi Thuyen aged 3 were all beaten and stabbed to death by the Chinese aggressors at Tong Chup on 9 March 1979.

Mrs Hoang Thi Giong and her 8-month-old baby daughter, were beaten to death with a pickaxe and a bamboo stick by the Chinese aggressors on 9 March 1979.

Chinese flame-throwers, gas masks and gloves, and poison gas detectors captured by the Vietnamese army and people near Tai Ho Sut bridge in Cao Bang province.



Photos : Commission of Inquiry into the Chinese Expansionists' and Hegemonists' Crime of Aggression and VNA Photo Department.

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